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THE
Commonweal

Our Choice in Haiti: Duvalier or the People

ALIDA L. CAREY

What Care for the Aged?

EDWARD T. CHASE

"Federal Aid and Freedom"

AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS

NEW PUZZLES, OLD PROBLEMS • A POEM BY DAVID GALLER
PEKING'S INDUSTRIAL POWER • GRAHAM GREENE'S SEARCH

VOLUME LXXV, NO. 23 MARCH 2, 1962 TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

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JUNE 21—AUGUST 3, 1962

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Father Cyril Vollert, S.J., Ph.D., S.T.D., professor of sacramental theology at St. Mary's College, Kansas, and winner of the 1961 Cardinal Spellman Award for theology, will teach a course on the theology of the Mass.

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THE COMMONWEAL
232 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.

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Application to mail at second-class postage rates is pending at Norwalk, Conn. Printed in the U.S.A. and published weekly, except biweekly from mid-July to mid-September, at 116 Main St., Norwalk, Conn., by The Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 232 Madison Ave., New York 16, N.Y. MUrray Hill 3-2042.

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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Anti-Communist Realities

BY ANY ORDINARY standards, Mr. Robert Welch ought to be a very unhappy man. Dismissed long ago by even the most faintly liberal, Mr. Welch is now subject to increasing attacks by his former friends in the conservative camp. Indeed, in a lengthy editorial in the *National Review*, "The Question of Robert Welch" (Feb. 13), he was ceremoniously drummed out of that camp. The charges against him were many: he has introduced divisiveness into conservative ranks, he lacks common sense, he repels rather than attracts people to the John Birch Society, and he has impugned the loyalty of men whose only real fault is "ineffectually anti-Communist liberalism."

No doubt Mr. Welch will see this attack as just another instance of Communist inroads. But Mr. Welch's response is beside the point. More important is the question of the significance of the conservative attacks on him. One would like to believe that, finally, conservatives are beginning to recognize the dangers of their brand of anti-Communism. One would like to believe also that conservatives will now begin to re-examine the entire problem of the best means of resisting Communism.

We are not optimistic. For one thing, it seems only too clear that the conservative attacks on Mr. Welch stem, in part, from a desire to close conservative ranks in the face of forthcoming Fall elections. For another, most of the conservative criticisms of Mr. Welch turn on the excessiveness of his zeal; rarely are his fundamental assumptions attacked. Presumably, if we read the *National Review* editorial correctly, it is Mr. Welch's imprudence and "intemperance of utterance" that are at fault, not his guiding vision of the danger of internal subversion. As if to confirm our doubts, the same issue of the *National Review* hints darkly that, with Mrs. Sarah McClendon's accusation that two State Department employees are security risks, "the entire question of internal security may now be wide open. And that the hunting will be very good."

The point that the *National Review* entirely overlooks in its criticism of Mr. Welch, as do most of his conservative critics, is that he merely carries to a logical extreme the right-wing's root premises. As long as conservatives continue to raise the specter of hidden subversives, of "creeping socialism" when welfare plans are proposed, of liberals as "dupes" and "soft on Communism," the Robert Welchs will find willing supporters for their excesses. If, in fact, as many conservatives contend, the decisions of a Justice Warren give aid and comfort to Communists, it is only a slight jump to conclude that this aid is deliberate.

PRESUMABLY, most reasonable right-wingers do not want such conclusions drawn; that, we take it, is the point of conservatives' singling out Mr. Welch for condemnation. But while we can sympathize with their desire to dissociate their views from Mr. Welch's and can recognize that there are many sharp differences, they share considerable responsibility for creating the climate of opinion which Mr. Welch and others exploit and exaggerate. For years conservatives have complained about the power of the "liberal establishment," about "sell-outs" to the Russians, about "pinkos" and "crypto-commies" lulling us to sleep. Mr. Welch might justly feel indignant that he has been accused of crossing a line which it is hard to see that conservatives have ever drawn.

Perhaps now, however belatedly, a line is being drawn. But if conservatives are to make any genuine contributions to effective anti-Communism, far more is required than a condemnation of eccentric personalities. Nothing less than a radical self-examination and a sharp change in tone and method will enable conservatives to do their share in educating the public about the dangers of Communism. So far they have done little more than confuse and

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divide the public. Mr. Welch may indeed be an unruly and unwelcome graduate of the conservative school of anti-Communism; but no one will mistake which school he comes from.

If conservatives are, as they so loudly proclaim, intent on educating and alerting the public, at least two fundamental changes in their thinking and practice are necessary. First, conservatives should ponder a point made in the *National Review* editorial on Mr. Welch, "that two anti-Communists, evaluating the same problem, can honestly advocate different approaches towards the same solution." Since the *National Review* does assert such a distinction against Mr. Welch's tactics, one can only query why it so consistently, sometimes subtly, sometimes crudely, imputes bad motives to liberals. So too, one can only wonder what they take this distinction to mean when one of their editors (in the same issue) talks of "these Afro-Asian nations after which Messrs. Stevenson-Cleveland-Rostow go so hotly whoring. . . ."

Secondly, for all their stress on public ignorance and apathy, conservatives have yet to present a viable plan for enlightening the public. There is surely a need for a greater knowledge of the ideology and practice of Communism; and there is surely a place for organizations dedicated to providing that knowledge. But the mass rally, the excoriation of liberals, the exposé of imaginary security risks, and circuit-riding former-F.B.I. agents do not at all fulfill the need. What is needed—and no one has suggested a perfect plan—is a method of educating the public which will not give rise to hysteria and which will not encourage the Robert Welchs to trade on fear and suspicion. Such a plan can hardly be created as long as conservatives continue to attack the wrong targets, for wrong reasons, in wrong ways.

New Frontier on the Road

IF IT isn't one Kennedy in the headlines it's another, or maybe two or three. These days the President's brother Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy is making front pages regularly on his tour of the Far East.

A number of Americans, particularly, we suspect, those who are committed to the cautious methods of traditional diplomacy, must be a little anxious about the Attorney General's free-wheeling, off-the-cuff exchanges with students and anyone else who chooses to talk to him. Mr. Kennedy has been flippant, impulsive, humorous and on at least one occasion has been quoted as using colorful but non-drawing room language.

Undoubtedly there are certain dangers in such public give-and-take on policy questions of great delicacy and seriousness. But it must be conceded that the young Attorney General has on the whole acquitted himself well. He has shown himself to be informed, quick-minded and personally engaging. And on this question of sheer personal impression we think the effect of Robert Kennedy's visits to Eastern countries may be more significant and more useful than appears on the surface.

The leaders of the new, non-white, non-European countries tend to be young men, understandably impulsive and impatient in their determination to get things done. It seems to us therefore that the very qualities of the Attorney General which might in one sense be called his deficiencies can also be counted as his strengths, that is, his unmistakable youth, enthusiasm and sincerity. Robert Kennedy will not sign any treaties, will not bring about any startling change in Indonesian or Vietnamese policy. But it may well be that his whirlwind visits and personal qualities will help transform the impression of the United States as a nation no longer young and no longer brave, conservative, timid and passionate about nothing so much as the status quo. Whatever else he may be, the President's brother is clearly an exemplar of the New Frontier.

Another Opening to the Left?

AGAINST the violence of the French Secret Army Organization (O.A.S.), nothing seems to prevail. One reason is the difficulty of defending against sneak attacks by individuals armed with pocket-size *plastique* bombs. Another is the apparently frequent diffidence of the French police. The unimpeded depredations of the O.A.S. terrorists raise the question whether the Fifth Republic will be able to carry out its part of the finally-won Algerian agreements—even if General de Gaulle again assumes full dictatorial powers.

How much significance can be read into the extraordinary Paris demonstration of February 13, when several hundred thousand marched for six hours in such impressive silence? Wave upon wave of mourners, many bearing wreaths of flowers, surged forward silently in the cold rain in homage to eight victims slain the week before—and in fervent protest. The protest was twofold: against the mounting terrorism of the O.A.S. and the ineffectuality of the de Gaulle government.

Here was a demonstration that brought Paris to a standstill. Its protracted silence was so well disciplined that only the slow tramp of feet and the funereal notes of Beethoven and Chopin could be

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heard. Students and professors, men and women from Socialist, Communist and Christian trade unions, political leaders, publicists and thousands of unaffiliated citizens marched in unison. It was a spectacle long to be remembered, a solemn warning from the people of France.

Some observers saw in this possibly historic demonstration the rebirth of the French Left as a dominant political force. For the first time in fifteen years its disparate elements were acting in concert. Yet the Socialist Party took part with official reservations, and only the Communists seemed intent on carrying through to the formation of a new Popular Front. The old divisions between Socialist and Communist elements are still there along with the numerous splinter elements deriving from the variety of French ideologies. In spite of the predominantly Leftist feelings and propensities of the French people, the difficulties of organizing a government on that basis remain almost insuperable.

Moreover, General de Gaulle continues to give every sign of determination to rule without assistance from the Left. He *might* turn to these political opponents as a last resort should the disorders following the outstanding achievement of an Algerian settlement get hopelessly out of hand. In such an event, however, the Left would doubtless call for his resignation and make one more unpromising attempt to form an effective government. If the impressive silent protest gave eloquent witness to a solidarity that sets limits to Rightist ambitions in France, it hardly constitutes a first step toward a Leftist coalition government.

Labor's Real Friends

REFORMERS are never very popular with those they are trying to reform, and spokesmen for the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists must be encountering chilly weather indeed at the AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting in otherwise sunny Bal Harbour, Florida. The Catholic union group gained wide attention five years ago when one of its representatives testified before the McClellan Committee that hundreds of thousands of New York workers, mostly Negroes and Puerto Ricans, were being cruelly exploited by racket unions in that city. Many of the offenders, it was revealed, were affiliates in good standing of the AFL-CIO.

In a report submitted to the merged unions' Executive Council, ACTU has returned to the situation it exposed five years ago. The ACTU report cites the promises in 1957 from the labor movement and all levels of government that there would be a vigorous campaign to correct the abuses of racket unions, to organize the unorganized, to improve conditions in certain "sluggish" AFL-CIO affiliates. "In the five years that have elapsed since these promises," the report goes on, "we have seen no meaningful solution to this continuing human tragedy. We have seen poorly coordinated AFL-CIO assaults against the racketeers that never approached the needed frequency or intensity. We have heard promise after promise by labor leaders pledging brave new efforts in behalf of the exploited unaccompanied by either serious effort or general success. We have seen some of the finest AFL-CIO locals in New York City exhaust themselves in lonely fights for forgotten workers."

Sad to relate, most of the unions which exploit their members through "sweetheart contracts" with conniving business men are still in business today, the ACTU report charges. The only difference is that they have changed their names and carefully filed the proper papers with the Bureau of Labor-Management Reporting, thereby gaining a new false front of respectability.

The existence of these racket unions is not, however, the only or even the most important cause of the virtual peonage that exists in some New York industries, the Catholic unionists point out. "The most important single reason," their report declares, "together with employer reluctance to pay a living wage, is that the merged labor movement has failed to live up to its responsibility to the low-income worker." The ACTU report speaks of "lethargy" on the part of union officials. It notes ironically that membership in some AFL-CIO locals "can mean pay in excess of $4 an hour, a work week of thirty hours or less, and full and complete welfare and retirement protection" while in others it can mean "pay of $1.25 an hour, a forty-hour week, totally inadequate welfare protection, and no retirement benefits." Perhaps the unkindest cut of all is the ACTU reference to the meeting in Florida: "While the Council members deliberate in the warmth of southern sunshine, several hundred thousand low-income workers in wintry New York wait, as they have waited for over five years."

The ACTU document is harshly critical of the AFL-CIO, obviously. Also obvious, however, is the fact that ACTU is unmistakably a labor organization, deeply committed to the need and value of unionism and wholly in sympathy with the avowed ideals of the merged labor group. In fact, its criticisms of the AFL-CIO are motivated not only by regard for the "forgotten workers" but by evident concern for the "good name" of the AFL-CIO and a desire to see the labor movement become once again the real "movement" it once was, "a labor movement consumed with passion for social justice."

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Sharing the Time

THE QUESTION of federal aid to education is turning out to be a lot less dead than most of us would have predicted even a few weeks ago. Perhaps it will all come to nothing in the end, but at this point at least there is considerable discussion of the subject. Whether this makes this the best time to raise a related aspect of the school problem or not, I don't know. But the January-February issue of *Religious Education* contains an interesting symposium on "Shared Time," which I think deserves consideration.

Religious Education is published bi-monthly by the Religious Education Association. I cannot, of course, do full justice here to its coverage of the proposal for shared time, which runs to some thirty pages. The explanation of the idea is written by Dr. Harry L. Stearns, superintendent of schools in Englewood, N.J., and member of the Board of Christian Education of the United Presbyterian Church, who originally developed the concept in the pages of *Christianity and Crisis*. His article is followed by comments, critical and otherwise, from a wide variety of educators and church leaders. Readers interested in the entire symposium can obtain reprints by sending thirty-five cents to the R.E.A. at 545 W. 111th St., New York 25, N.Y.

Shared time, which is not to be confused with released time, means exactly that—a sharing of the school time of children between the state-supported schools and religious schools. While granting that the state may require that a child attend school, it emphasizes that the state does not and should not have full and final control of the child. Shared time is seen as a means of permitting the state and the church to share the child's time at the discretion of the parent. Thus it represents a radical shift from the present situation, in which there are religious schools to which some children go exclusively and public schools to which other children go exclusively.

How would shared time work? As I understand the idea, children now in religious schools would be enrolled in public schools for a large part of their schooling. Religious leaders might decide, say, that history, language training, literature, and science could well be taught in the public, "neutral" school—supplemented, if desired, by emphasis in the religious school on any aspect of any of these subjects that seemed desirable from a religious point of view, in addition to the usual formal religious education. But the bulk of the child's education in "secular" subjects would be carried on in the public school.

What is the difference between "shared time" and "released time"? As I read it, there are two main differences—one theoretical and one practical. On the theoretical level, "shared time" emphasizes the rights of the parent, eliminating any suggestion that the state is beneficently releasing a portion of "its" time for religious education. On the practical level, shared time is at once more complicated than released time and, I think, far more likely to produce a satisfactory level of religious education.

Shared time, I take it, would require a somewhat longer school day, more time under religious auspices, and closer collaboration between religious and educational leaders. In the religious school, for example, a serious effort could be made to supply an added dimension to key areas of the science curriculum being followed in the "neutral" school. Or the religious teacher could, in connection with a civics course, concentrate on the concept of natural rights as deriving from the Creator. A comparable approach should be possible in most subjects. This would surpass any released time program I ever heard of and might work as well as or better than the present parochial school approach.

What would be some of the consequences of the shared time concept? Tax-supported schools would have a heavier burden, of course, since millions of children now in parochial schools would be enrolled in public schools for a substantial part of their schooling. On the other hand, use of a staggered schedule would make it possible to reduce the size of the classes in parochial schools, which now run to fifty and sixty or even more. Catholic parents would be paying extra only for religious education, ending what is called "double taxation," and the argument over the constitutionality of aid to church-related schools would presumably be laid to rest—as would charges that Catholics tend to oppose increased spending on behalf of the public schools.

The practical problems involved in putting shared time into effect would be, of course, staggering. In areas where parochial schools already exist in sizable quantity, the problems of re-scheduling classes would clearly be monumental, and the utmost in patience and good will would be required from all concerned. But I don't think we should decide the idea is impractical before it is given serious examination.

At first glance, the shared time idea looks like an impossibly ambitious attempt to reconcile divergent goals and ambitions and viewpoints. In the abstract it seems impossible to believe that it would really work—which is to say it is remarkably like the American idea itself and therefore not to be lightly dismissed. Shared time may not turn out to be a successful American answer to peculiarly American problems, but it is certainly worth thinking about. JAMES O'GABA

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Our Choice in Haiti: Duvalier or the People

ALIDA L. CAREY

IN PORT-AU-PRINCE some weeks ago an experienced and relatively impartial foreign observer described the Haitian government as a bunch of gangsters. President François Duvalier, he told me, "is like Al Capone—with only one important difference. The U.S. jailed Capone, whereas it's *helping* Duvalier."

Though the comparison may be inelegant, the opinion seems sound, and its significance is appalling. The Caribbean Negro republic of Haiti, after four years of Duvalier dictatorship, now lies brutalized, close to bankrupt, and bereft of visible, able alternate leaders; meanwhile its government receives American arms with military training, plus millions of dollars in aid annually, with almost no strings. The weapons go to Duvalier's Armed Forces, which he uses as a combined Army-police, primarily to control and tyrannize the populace. Part of the aid supports the national budget, which in turn supports Duvalier, who spends much of his funds in secrecy and in strengthening himself personally. The rest of the aid aims at economic development, but here too the government can intervene, with inefficiency and dishonesty, allowing little positive result for the country. It is generally accepted in Washington, not to mention in Port-au-Prince, that withdrawal of such American assistance could topple Duvalier.

Assistance continues, however, with the U.S. serving to harm both Haiti and itself. "You are now an accomplice," one distinguished Haitian has asserted to me. "It's a choice of either-or: either you support the dictator, or you aid the people; you can't do both," he says.

Add up the elements, that we now sustain a dictator who is of no effective help to his own people or to us, and actually of increasing harm to both, and then ask why. Apparently, there is no "good" (i.e., self-interested) reason for this current U.S. policy, and there are several which must be deemed bad. None of the classic protests of "it's politically expedient" or "we need the military base" or "we must protect our investments" can be accurately applied.

ALIDA L. CAREY has served on the staff of *Newsweek* and the A.F.P. in Paris and has contributed to the *New York Times Magazine*, the *Manchester Guardian* and other publications.

There are reasons enough, though, for wanting to help Haiti as a whole. As the first free Negro state in modern times and the only one in our hemisphere, it is symbolic. As the nearest foreign neighbor to Castro's Cuba, only forty miles away across the Windward Passage to the northwest, and a border sharer with the Dominican Republic to the east, it becomes significant. To call Haiti underdeveloped requires excruciating understatement: population estimates count 3,500,000 people and squeeze them into an area about the size of Maryland, tighter even than in India; mountains smother about eighty per cent of the land and illiteracy about ninety per cent of the people; the economy, such as it is, yields a per capita annual income of some $70 and is based on the one crop of coffee, exports of which are roughly half what they were two centuries ago, when Haiti was a colony of France. Malnutrition (not to mention tuberculosis and malaria) is widespread. Roads resemble lines of bomb craters, and the one from Port-au-Prince, the capital, to Cap Haitien, the second largest city some hundred miles away, takes six hours to travel by car, up to fourteen by public bus.

The whole trouble is, Duvalier contends, that United States aid is insufficient. "We need a massive injection of money to revive Haiti, and this injection can come only from our great, capable neighbor and friend, the United States," the President has said. As neighbor-friend, we might pause to examine what's become of our money so far.

LAST YEAR, a $350,000 program sent American light weapons and munitions to the Haitian Army, while a resident fifty-man U.S. Naval Mission has been training the troops since early 1959. Though the arms may seem modest and the mission small, they serve Duvalier well by implying American approval of his regime and beefing up the five thousand Army-policemen to help impose that regime. Once Haitian Army officers, not the President, controlled the land—as in 1957 when Gen. Antonio Kébreau favored Duvalier, then a former country doctor and seeming innocent, for the Presidency and had a reported twelve hundred objecting citizens machine-gunned in the streets during a single night. But

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soon, as President, Duvalier seized the Army command in fact if not in name. Against his own Constitution, he dissolved the bicameral legislature last April and decreed a vote for a new single chamber, two years early and nine men short. His candidates, often only one per district, were hand-picked, then picked over, leaving finally such worthies as members of his Cabinet and his family.

Army troops stalked the capital's polling places on election day, April 30, 1961. Some of them guided the people brought into town from outlying areas in government trucks to vote, while others reminded all government employees that, though it was Sunday, they were ordered to work—and vote. Known anti-Duvalierists were held under arrest, out of harm's way. Simple citizens were rounded up, shivering with fear, and made to sign a paper which later turned out to be a government "popular referendum." From Cap Haitien came word that Army men with guns forced everyone emerging from church to go to the polls, whether they were men, women, children, or foreigners. All were handed the ballot of just one candidate and informed that the three others running had been jailed the night before. As a "security measure," Army Major Jean Beauvoir delivered an expulsion order to the one foreign reporter come especially to cover the election, an American, as it happened, who had to depart without protest from his embassy.

The election outcome surprised almost no one, except perhaps official Washington. Haiti had a new, unconstitutional legislature, though the real total vote was probably only 100,000 or less, and not the 1,320,748 which Duvalier claimed. Moreover, Haiti had an unconstitutional President, or rather Duvalier again, for a new and out-of-the-blue term of six years. Since his first term was to last until 1963, there was no legal reason for his running then. Since his Constitution forbids Presidential re-election, there was no legal chance of his running at all. He had not announced his candidacy and, of course, went unencumbered by either campaign issues or opponents. But the Duvalier name had appeared on every printed ballot, along with that of each legislative candidate, and a maximum one-tenth of the electorate had cast ballots.

WHAT ELSE has been done with U.S. money so far? An annual $6 million is presented to Haiti in budget support. Because budget figures remain generally a deep, dark, Duvalier secret, it is hard to estimate, but a probable sixty per cent of all available funds goes to the military, official and otherwise. The Army consumes some of this, while much of the rest feeds two other, more fearsome groups.

A Presidential Guard, numbering about 500 well-armed and well-trained troops, boasts no connection with the Army and takes its orders solely from Duvalier.

"Toto Macoute" (Creole for "Uncle Knapsack" or, loosely, "bogeyman"), shortened to "TTM," is what Haitians in hushed voices call the secret police, third and probably worst of the terror groups. Untrained and unrestrained, these may total ten thousand and are made up of wandering shoeshine boys, taxi drivers, restaurant waiters, and sundry ruffians, who by day spread out everywhere in civilian garb to spy and eavesdrop on the citizenry and to blackmail any they care to find displeasing. That some TTM get small salaries simply adds zeal to their blackmail demands. That others receive as much as a reported $3,600 yearly (a Haitian fortune) helps explain Duvalier's huge military budget.

At night, a TTM might don his olive-green uniform for more violent Duvalier missions—aided of course by periodic martial law and the state of siege in effect since May 1958 which permits searching of homes without warrant and jailing of anyone without trial. It was before dawn one night a year ago that TTM terrorists, with the Army, broke in on Haiti's remaining Roman Catholic bishop, in bed, to seize and then help expel him from the country. Duvalier, himself a nominal Catholic and President of an officially Catholic state, has now ousted six important Catholic churchmen and suffered Vatican excommunication. To him, the clerics represent opposition to his native voodoo religion, thus his Haitian nationality, and his principally pure-black race. Finally, he views them as political meddlers who have, among other things, sided with Haiti University's "Communist" students.

Students naturally are considered meddlers, so they have received the TTM treatment, too. Last year, secret police grabbed, tortured, and imprisoned the National Student Union secretary. Eighteen high school boys were jailed, the university nationalized, free speech and assembly banned. When one thousand fellow students (few if any actually Communist and several once Duvalierist) began a four-month strike in protest, parents were threatened and scholarship pupils impoverished. Ultimately, the youngsters had to return to class, with no government concessions in sight.

Whatever the occasion, Duvalier has been able to

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call on his budget-supported bullies. A free press, guaranteed by the Constitution, has been obliterated. The TTM ransacked and dynamited three newspaper printing plants, and the regime closed down *Escale, Le Patriote* and *La Phalange,* possibly Haiti's best paper. Editors have been jailed or have fled into exile, and one, Augustin Clitandre of *Le Soleil,* was arrested four years ago and subsequently disappeared.

Though a labor movement came late to Haiti, there were, pre-Duvalier, perhaps fifty well-established unions. "Now there's not one single free union . . . the working class knows the most degrading misery, without power to protest," a prominent labor union president, now exiled, has said. Another president, Dacius Benoit of the Longshoremen's Union, fled into hiding inside Haiti, but too late: he was arrested and tortured, reportedly drenched with gasoline and set on fire.

Can we really afford to contribute to a budget which allows for such "military" expense? Is this foreign "aid"?

OTHER BUDGETARY items include agriculture, natural resources, rural development, and rural education —the areas of greatest need—but it is probable that less than seven per cent of the total is slated for all these combined. Legislators supposed to vote the funds have little or no control. In 1960, when the legislature rejected Duvalier's request for full economic powers, they were forced to reconsider, passing the bill as originally presented, after the President had their chamber surrounded with troops. Some budget headings are not liable to question by the law-makers, and some remain as mysterious "missions abroad" or Presidential "journeys," "official entertainment," and "receptions."

What else has been done with our money so far? The final area of U.S. efforts is that of economic-development assistance, valued at $7,560,000 for 1961. No one could dispute the country's need for such amounts, or maybe even more. Until 1804 Haiti was a French colony, staffed by African slaves, and dubbed Europe's New World economic prize. Suddenly freed, but poorly trained, the ex-slaves destroyed much of what had made their country both agricultural and rich. Once-enormous estates boasting sugar, cotton and indigo were chopped up into unproductive parcels, an instance of land reform gone mad. Trees from once dense forests were consumed as fuel, and floods and soil erosion followed. Simultaneously, the ex-serfs retained old farming methods and have had little occasion since to acquire the new. Today, some families try to survive with less than 1/40 of an acre of fertile land. Even the major money crop of coffee often grows wild in the mountains and is picked, mere baskets at a time, to be trudged down to the local market place.

Much of American economic funds has gone toward development of the Artibonite River Valley, a would-be wonderland which sweeps east to west across central Haiti and might someday feed the whole country. In a concept similar to our T.V.A., waste and erosion covering 80,000 acres may know irrigation and flood control. A hydroelectric plant there could provide 40,000 kilowatts of power, exactly twice what all Haiti has today. But, though construction began in 1953, the project has still to be finished and, in the words of one pessimist, won't be, "not in our time." Other Haitians maintain that "eighty per cent of the aid given Haiti by the United States is wasted, some of it the result of mismanagement and the rest of outright corruption." In the case of the Artibonite, cost estimates climbed from an original $6 million on upward, until by 1956 they had reached $32 million. Delay followed delay, and Duvalier followed that.

To date, we have never demanded a firm accounting for all public funds as a condition of budget support and the aid program (not to mention the military mission). Despite hazy Haitian figures, we can estimate that Duvalier dispenses a total annual $34 million—of which the U.S. contributes about forty per cent, Duvalier refuses to account for about eighteen per cent, and he misuses a probable eighty per cent.

ARE THERE any good reasons for our policy in Haiti? None, militarily, for the U.S. has no base in Haiti now, and an April offer by Duvalier of a naval base site at Môle Saint-Nicolas, opposite Cuba, has so far gone without benefit of public U.S. reply. Military sources meanwhile admit that an installation there would at best be a satellite base to Guantanamo, or a very expensive substitute for it. Haiti's Army serves no real purpose for us, if internally it simply buoys up a bad President and if externally it would be powerless against invading Cuban or Dominican forces, each now over four times its size. And, in the event of invasion, say from these neighbors, Haiti could quickly plead an "intra-continental conflict," under the O.A.S. 1947 Rio pact, and call for collective action for her defense.

Politically, there seems no advantage, even if we consider the curious reasoning that if Duvalier is a dictator, he is therefore efficient, and if a Right dictator, therefore anti-Communist and friendly to us. This is not a Portuguese strongman who might be credited with a stable economy, or a late Dominican El Benefactor-factotum once hailed for building hospitals, roads, and a new high in literacy. Nor is Duvalier notably anti-Communist; on the contrary. He tolerates small but active Communist cadres in Haiti—though Communism in general there appears weak. Not long ago he launched a Haitian trade mission toward the Soviets, via East Germany, or so East German papers reported, and by announcing publicly that, if the U.S. didn't manage to fill his "needs," he might choose between the "two great poles of attraction." Chances are Duvalier is no

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Communist himself, but he is no friend, either. Chameleonic, he seems capable of many colors, including blackmail, to maintain his rule.

Moreover, should this rule continue, ruthless and repressive as it is, Duvalier's heavy hand could point the way to a final explosion among Haitians, who in desperation and even in justice might swing violently to a Left regime. This is the single greatest threat today.

Other "good" reasons for our policy cannot include the protection of American investments. Our private investments in Haiti now are scattered around principally in sugar, electric power, bananas, sisal, flour, fisheries, and bauxite mining. Their total value at most reaches only perhaps $50 million. One of the biggest ventures, a sugar company selling about half its production to the U.S., continues to survive by its own admission only because of the present American quota and our price which averages more than two cents a pound above the world rate.

Failing good reasons, we have adopted bad ones for our treatment of Haiti. Fear perhaps is paramount: Washington is afraid of Duvalier's threats of I'll-turn-East, or I-won't-support-you-in-the-West (presumably in the U.N. and O.A.S.). He used this weapon quite nakedly at the recent O.A.S. conference at Punta del Este. Americans on the spot seem afraid of future physical violence without the doctor around, as if they couldn't see the omnipresent hooligans and assassins now. Indecision, too, plays a part: we're not sure what to do in Haiti, and meanwhile there are problems of Germany and Berlin, so we'll let it ride. Contradiction covers all. The U.S. stands opposed to dictators, but . . . We oppose "intervention," but . . . only in the negative sense, as in an overt menace, or hindrance, not in the sense of positive help. We insist on each nation's "self-determination," but . . . not if it involves abandoning Duvalier and allowing Haitians to determine themselves. Finally, we can't abandon Duvalier and leave nothing but possible chaos; first a viable political alternative must be found . . . although under such dictatorship no moderate alternative can emerge.

U.S. policy now argues that, if Duvalier should go, a Castro-like catastrophe might take his place. But the Castro type will come, more likely, if Duvalier stays. We complain of no alternative. But we ourselves help discourage the best alternatives there are (or were): the youth and talent of the land.

In four years' time, Duvalier has had an estimated two hundred opponents killed. Countless others have "disappeared," and others rot undefended in jail. Many have raced into hiding, some seek asylum in foreign embassies, and "hundreds and hundreds," as they were described to me, are now in exile. These include eminent politicians, businessmen, professional people, even Haiti's best contemporary novelist, all-told a varied group and an able one—in short, an enormous loss. And the President even depletes his own camp—he practices a perpetual purge of his Cabinets, the Army command, the TTM, his own political party and his loyal private secretaries—anything to prevent someone else's perhaps gathering power to become a threat. What is left? Even the apolitical man-in-the-street now walks in fear, for he might be subject to arbitrary arrest and beating, on the whim of a TTM, or accosted by young hoodlums with guns, or denied a passport when he wants to leave.

WHAT IS there, then, that we can and cannot reasonably do? Unfortunately, Haiti's problems are not entirely new; her history makes a patchwork of violence and parasitic presidents. Still, Dr. Duvalier seems more disastrous than his forebears, and he is the beneficiary of more U.S. aid—including now our Alliance for Progress funds stripped of specific U.S. control. At the August Punta del Este Alliance conference, U.S. Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon signed the twenty-nation charter and declaration which pledged more American money, but exacted no firm guarantees from recipient governments as to its use. While the objective is economic and social development, under representative democracy, there will be "no hard and fast line," Secretary Dillon said, in evaluating efforts toward this objective. That is, there will be no insistence on progress, under the Alliance for Progress. "We are not trying in any way to interfere in or judge the details of the internal operations of individual countries," Mr. Dillon declared.

But surely the time has come when we *must* interfere and judge—in the case of Haiti, and perhaps others, too. "Intervention" may be a dirty word in the hemisphere, but we are intervening already, in behalf of Duvalier, and might better do so in behalf of his people as a whole. Either that, or withdraw ourselves and our aid completely. Let us, for once, decide to give aid abroad constructively or not at all.

If all U.S. aid to Haiti, both direct and via the Alliance, were ended, Duvalier would surely fall, courtesy of his fellow Haitians. Possibly his head would fall at the same time. And he must realize this. But if we were to *threaten* an end to all aid, he could make a choice: his own overthrow, perhaps bloody, or his agreement to certain U.S. demands, including, in time, new free elections. Free elections would also mean his ultimate overthrow, but they could be accompanied by a promise of safe conduct out of Haiti. It would seem to be to his interest to choose the latter, and also to request an O.A.S. mission to come and help keep the peace during the balloting while he was still in office.

Hopefully, he might at the same time request a Haitian mission. This would mean the return of Haiti's able citizens now abroad, and the emergence from forced silence and stultification of those at home. It could be the beginning of a healthy Haitian Republic.

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What Care for the Aged?

EDWARD T. CHASE

THE ANNUAL medical-care-for-the-aged debate is at our throats again, unleashed at a special January meeting of the American Hospital Association and the Blue Cross Association, which rank with the American Medical Association as the country's most important health care organizations. Planned jointly (Blue Cross is essentially a Siamese twin of the AHA) back in September, the meeting was designed to arrive at a policy position, just before Congress reconvened, on how best to finance and administer hospital care for those sixty-five and over. This it did, along with accomplishing a variety of other ends for a variety of people.

The meeting afforded the Blue Cross's new president, Walter J. McNerney, the chance to use the great issue to rally the seventy-nine independent regional Blue Cross plans into agreeing, for the first time, to act as a single national organization in collectively offering a uniform national contract with a uniform cost and a uniform benefit to all persons sixty-five and over. The way is now paved for McNerney to head a much discussed but so far never realized ideal of a powerful, integrated national Blue Cross.

The meeting afforded AHA and Blue Cross delegates the chance to change their untenably negative official posture toward the plight of the aged with a positive public relations gesture, at the eleventh hour. It gave the Blue Cross an opportunity to urge again that it, as a non-profit outfit, be selected as the chosen agent for hospital care for the aged, in effect a monopoly status for itself and the devil take the commercial health insurance industry.

Furthermore, the gathering in Chicago gave the liberally-inclined and thus much frustrated egghead staffs of the Blue Cross Association and AHA the chance to present the delegates with massive documentation of why government financial assistance to cover the aged is essential. Finally, to cap it all off, the meeting, by virtue of the generalized and seemingly contradictory rhetoric of the resolutions adopted, provided all the main contestants in the national debate with the chance to read their own favorite interpretations into what took place.

The partisans in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, for example, who are dedicated to successful enactment this year of the Administration's aged-care legislation, the King-Anderson Bill, count the meeting a victory for their cause. So does the AFL-CIO, the principal advocate of the Administration's position. But the American Medical Association, which Harry Truman used to call "just another mean trust," claims it was their position that was upheld, a position notoriously at odds with the Administration's. Only the commercial insurance industry, among the principal interested parties, found nothing good whatsoever in the event.

HOW, one asks, can all this be? Here is the way it went. On the first day of the two-day meeting, Blue Cross president McNerney presented the basic proposal that had been worked up by the combined Blue Cross and AHA staffs. Entitled "The Blue Cross National Open Enrollment Program," the program provides for seventy-days hospital care, including the standard in-hospital services; for certain limited services performed in hospital out-patient departments; care for a specified number of days in skilled nursing homes and rehabilitation facilities; and sixty days of visiting nurse services in the home. The program is to be open to all persons sixty-five years of age or older and is to be administered on a uniform basis by the seventy-nine Blue Cross plans. Mr. McNerney estimated the cost of such a program as running anywhere from $10 to $12 a month per person covered, though some staff men thought it might run higher.

In any case the program was advanced as a tentative one, subject to revision in all its details. Much more important were the points in the policy recommendations presented by the leadership for discussion, revision and adoption. It was around these points that the floor debate revolved, and it was these points which offered the chance for people to read in their own suitable interpretations.

The points in the recommended resolutions were presented to the House of Delegates of the AHA by its Board of Trustees, while simultaneously in an adjacent room the Blue Cross Association's Governors presented the same points to the heads of the regional Blue Cross plans. The sets of recommendations, in keeping with the integrated operations of the organizations, were judged to be identical, at least in intent. As it turned out, a slight variation in wording proved decisive in allowing those who so wished to interpret the meeting as a break with the past—that is to say, with the attitude

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established for all organized medicine by the American Medical Association.

Here's what was recommended: vigorous support for the present Kerr-Mills law (a stopgap measure put into effect last year which provides for stepped-up Federal aid to the states' public assistance programs for the indigent and the medically indigent); implementation of the proposed new nationwide Blue Cross plan for the aged; determination of the aged person's need by a simple income test rather than by the conventional means test, in the event of government financial aid to the individual, with any such aid to be given on a decreasing scale related to income; renewed stress on planning and creating better hospital facilities and personnel to care for the aged; condemnation of the Administration-backed King-Anderson Bill to provide medical care for the aged through Social Security; acknowledgment that the private voluntary system cannot meet the costs of covering the aged entirely on its own but will need government financial assistance and that the administration of such assistance be carried out by the "voluntary non-profit pre-payment system."

THE LAST ITEM turned out to be the most crucial of the points, owing to the fact that the AHA version retained a clause that was revised at the last minute in the Blue Cross version. This was the clause: "Conditional upon the administration of this proposed plan by the voluntary non-profit pre-payment system, *the tax source of the funds is of secondary importance to us.*" (Italics mine.)

After sharp debate in their meeting, the Blue Cross delegates simply cut the underlined phrase, apparently with an intuition it might cause embarrassment. And it did. Observers in HEW immediately pounced on the point, with this emphasis: the American Medical Association has all along said that the manner in which medical care for the aged is financed is crucial (i.e., AMA has been adamant against a payroll tax, which they equate with the hated Social Security approach). Yet, said HEW, here we have the American Hospital Association, the AMA's chief cohort (indeed they are practically interlocking organizations) saying the matter of financing isn't really so important after all.

What's more, Administration supporters declared, AHA and Blue Cross are conceding in no uncertain terms that the voluntary system really isn't up to the task of handling the elderly—government assistance *is* essential, and without any punitive means test, too. Indeed, their whole new plan, while it could be formally offered to the aged without government assistance, simply wouldn't work without it, since only a fraction of the aged could afford to pay for it without government help.

The AFL-CIO took much the same line. Its Director of the Department of Social Security, Nelson H. Cruikshank, said: "In their actions of January 4, the American Hospital Association and the Blue Cross plans took a major step toward a realistic appraisal of the problem of financing the health care of America's aged. They took cognizance of the need for governmental assistance in financing, they came out against providing governmental assistance on the basis of the usual means test determination made under public welfare programs, and they dropped their opposition to the use of the Social Security system as the mechanism to provide the necessary funds. It's clear from this action that the AHA and Blue Cross have learned a great deal about the health needs of older people. It is also clear, however, that they still have much to learn about the practical ways of meeting these needs."

The tone of Mr. Cruikshank's statement is not conciliatory, but the most interesting element is the interpretation of AHA's line that financing is of "secondary importance" as marking an end of "opposition to the use of the Social Security system." The American Medical Association, on the other hand, managed to make the exact opposite interpretation. "The American Medical Association," it's statement said, "is gratified that the AHA and the Blue Cross Association have gone on record that the best interests of the aged would not be served by the King-Anderson bill and that they have opposed the use of the Social Security mechanism for the administration of any form of health care for the aged."

WHAT is one to make of this? The conflicting comments sound like exercise in one-upmanship with no clear winner. Even old hands in this ancient issue had trouble evaluating the AHA-Blue Cross move from studying the widely variant newspaper accounts. But a number of things were clear to those of us present on the scene.

Young (36) Walter McNerney, the Blue Cross Association president, wound up the two-day session with his evaluation. Rising to his feet after the head of the Colorado Blue Cross expressed some disenchantment with the meeting on the grounds that too much was left up in the air, Mr. McNerney stated that in fact the adoption of the recommendations was "no mean accomplishment . . . to me this is a magnificant statement . . . almost a prodigious achievement at this time."

What he meant was that after years of procrastination

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and pussyfooting it was something to get the AHA and Blue Cross off dead center and actually on the move toward a national structure and a definite proposal on the great issue of hospital care for the aged. One could also understand his evident relief over the delegates' formal acceptance in principle of the need for government assistance and their opposition to a punitive means test—something that has never disturbed the AMA.

But anyone following the debate and questioning individual delegates got the strong impression that many of them were being dragged into taking any new stand. The idea of offering a new national contract to all the aged on a uniform basis was perhaps all right, especially since in the last analysis each regional plan has the technical right to stay out of any national program. However, the notion of conceding the need for government assistance and expressing indifference to the financing mechanism was all but intolerable to many if not most of them, compensated for only partly by the resolution condemning the Administration-favored King-Anderson bill.

One of the most downright members of the opposition was Walter McBee, head of Texas Blue Cross. In conversation during a coffee break the topic came up of the AMA's alleged negative stand in recent years on all suggested changes in America's health care system. Mr. McBee allowed as how the AMA had in fact a perfectly positive approach. Questioned as to what it might be, he responded that it was "the American way of life." Given this mentality, perhaps Mr. McNerney's accomplishment and that of his leadership associates in the AHA had been "almost a prodigious achievement" after all.

IS IT possible that legislation will be created to give Blue Cross the position it has long desired, but shies from directly avowing, that of the chosen agent of government in handling the financing of hospital care for the aged? No one can say at this early juncture, but one would hesitate to say the prospects are very strong.

The Administration has made unmistakable its support for the King-Anderson bill, with its full commitment to the principle that Social Security is the logical way to meet the ageds' problems. Because of the conservative opposition to this measure in the House Ways and Means Committee and the vehemence of the AMA's hostility, it is nip and tuck as to whether the measure can get out of committee.

Regardless of this, and whether it wins government support or not, the proposed Blue Cross program for the aged will be offered, and that in itself is not without significance. Not only does it mean the likelihood of a Blue Cross in action on a unified national basis, but there is also always the possibility that once the program is on the books that ways will be found—conceivably through the present Kerr-Mills law giving Federal money to the states on a matching basis—to channel some tax money into it. Should this happen, the Blue Cross program could become the resolution of "the problem" for the next several years, at least.

If tax subsidy of some type isn't forthcoming, however, the Blue Cross program won't have any great meaning. Over half (52.7 per cent to be precise) of those over sixty-five have an annual income of from nothing to less than $1,000. They just can't afford a $10 to $12 a month hospital care plan without outside help.

However, we shall learn more about all this in the weeks immediately ahead. Follow-up meetings are already scheduled to perfect the details of the program. There will be negotiations with government leaders in both the executive and legislative branches. And Blue Shield, the doctor-run younger cousin of Blue Cross, is likewise being forced into action, and has just announced that it, too, is studying a plan complementing Blue Cross's for a nation-wide program for persons over 65. One thing is sure: the 1962 version of the medical care-for-the-aged argument is launched, and well on schedule.

After Leaving the Lady of the Wood

Despoiler of women, wait!
Now that the wood is passed
And trumpet and fife
At the meadow's fringe at last
Usher you toward your glory,
Think you that grief
At loss of your advocate
Past crawling pond and root
Is the end of the story?

Why, on your golden cheek
One tear will have the court
At your splendid feet!
All tears could not distort
What these will to believe:
That near the height
Of your pure heart, oblique
Intrigues of a crone struck
And still deceive.

And railing that ever since
You set foot in their hall,
You've felt the cloak
Of a toad to your shoulders crawl,
Adds no less to the lie.
Nor lurching back
And pleading you are her prince
Through muddied sentiments.
For she would comply.

DAVID GALLER

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"Federal Aid and Freedom"

Harrisburg, Pa.

TO THE EDITORS: Congratulations to The Commonweal upon "Federal Aid and Freedom" by Justus George Lawler [Jan. 26]—a balanced and perceptive statement on the "school aid" problem and one which I hope will be widely read. Putting a "but" after "Congratulations" is always risky, and I hope that the few exceptions which I take to Professor Lawler's presentation will be understood to be minor exceptions to a major contribution.

Professor Lawler's emphasis upon the desirability of a pluralist educational order which reflects a pluralist society is all to the good. Still, there are some persons who will be only too prone to see in the present Catholic championing of "pluralism" a love which is more strategic than heartfelt. Talk on the part of Catholics in favor of "pluralism" will be more widely accorded respect when Catholics are more widely identified with efforts to preserve the rights of minorities and to achieve justice for them.

This will entail, for example, the participation by Catholics in such efforts as the furthering of Negro civil rights, the combatting of anti-Semitism, the improving of immigration laws. It will also mean their participation in dialogue with non-Catholics upon many matters of common civil interest. In this connection it will mean that, on the school aid question, Catholics will take care not merely to defend their position upon the blandly stated basis of its function in helping create "a truly pluralist educational order" but will trouble themselves to explain to their friends and neighbors precisely why they conceive that aid to Catholic education can be within the law of the American Constitution.

I AM therefore much concerned over Professor Lawler's comments upon federal aid as a *legal* matter. He states that "Pro or con views based on constitutional law are usually of secondary value, and occasionally of little merit at all, save in the scoring of debating points." He also describes the state of constitutional law respecting federal aid to education in church-related schools as confused and argues that advocates of federal aid must rely upon relating their claims to social needs rather than basing them upon "legalistic literalism."

First, let it be said that such advocates are not faced with a *choice* between making practical arguments (based on social needs) and making legal arguments (based upon constitutional law). The fact is that they have no choice but to make both. They cannot ignore the legal argument because it is this argument which is everywhere thrust upon them.

In fact, the chief fault of advocates of federal aid in the national debate has been their avoidance (until recently) of the legal argument while insisting upon "rights" or "principles of distributive justice." While such insistences were appealing, they did not meet the constantly repeated objection that no matter how great a benefit church-related education might be, or whatever the demands of natural justice to children participating in such education might be, we presently have a Constitution in this country, and that Constitution flatly prohibits federal aid to such education. When this was solemnly asserted by the President, who thereafter was backed up in his assertion by the attorneys for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, proponents of aid to church-related education were forced to take to the legal field. That they did this somewhat late in the debate may be regrettable. However, to have avoided the constitutional debate entirely would have been to have insulted the American people and to have heavily underscored the impression of the Catholic Power, bulldozing its way to its singular objectives, disdaining to give ear to seriously voiced arguments of critics, unwilling to engage in rational civil argument with the rest of the community.

Professor Lawler appears, however, to consider the constitutional argument pretty much a waste of time because "precedents have been so often reversed—as in the case of 'separate but equal facilities' . . ." But is this not instead a very good reason for engaging in the argument? Certainly the NAACP attorneys would tell us so, and if the absolutist myth of separation is to be dispelled in church-state matters as it was in racial relationships, it is certain that the area of the law is one in which the most vigorous efforts must be made in favor of rationality.

The sad fact of the matter (as indicated in the recent Alaska school bus and Oregon textbook cases) is that the "wall of separation" dogma is not simply negative, but rather dynamic. It is making steady headway in the state courts and if not knowledgeably and rationally countered (*as it can be*) will ultimately succeed in transforming the character of all church-related social institutions.

Professor Lawler states that "any decision on constitutionality must await the action of the Court on a bill which has already been passed." In the case of a federal enactment granting aid to church-related education, however, it would be extremely doubtful wheth-

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er any direct court test of constitutionality could take place.

According to the doctrine of *Frothingham v. Mellon*, decided by the Supreme Court in 1923, a taxpayer of the United States is considered to have so remote and indeterminable an interest in federal tax moneys collected that he would have no legal standing to sue to enjoin the grant. But this means that there is all the more reason for those who would defend such grants to move to the constitutional field and to attempt to make their legal case. To the fullest extent possible there should be popular satisfaction, in the case of legally incontestable legislation, that such legislation is in fact constitutional.

In this law-centered society of ours, Catholics ought to be very happy that the constitutional case for the inclusion of church-related schools in programs of federal aid is being made, and that this winter there has appeared not only the NCWC study but also the extraordinarily fine article of Professor Philip B. Kurland, " Of Church and State and the Supreme Court," in the *Chicago Law Review* and that of Professor Paul G. Kauper, "Church and State: Cooperative Separatism" in the *Michigan Law Review*. Each of these articles, written by a non-Catholic, has attracted widespread and respectful attention and each has brought forward solid argument to discredit the myth of absolute separation.

As a Catholic lawyer, may I add that I was just a bit happy that Professor Lawler—apparently so disdaining legal argument over federal aid—nevertheless, in his comments on Leo Pfeffer, came up with some very nice legal argumentation on his own! WILLIAM B. BALL

(Mr. Ball is an attorney who was chief author of the recently released NCWC study on the constitutionality of the inclusion of church-related schools in federal aid to education—THE EDITORS).

The Author Replies

Chicago, Ill.

TO THE EDITORS: This is a reasonable and reasoned critique of my essay, and I welcome the opportunity of clarifying the points raised.

Concerning those Catholics who espouse pluralism out of "a love which is more strategic than heartfelt," I wrote in a symposium on the educational question (the *Oklahoma Courier*, March 31, 1961) that Catholics ought to abdicate their current claims to federal aid "for the good of the whole state, and not merely as an adroit expedient for assuring in the future what they probably could not attain in the present." Concerning the "furthering of Negro civil rights, the combatting of anti-Semitism . . .," etc., I observe in a forthcoming issue of the *Harvard Educational Review* that: "Recent surveys have indicated that students in Catholic schools in the South have fundamentally the same attitude on racial questions as other students. To the degree that this is so, such schools can no more be called Christian than one could call Christian that society which tolerated, let us say for example, the expulsion and persecution of the Jews or Moriscos." I am sure that Mr. Ball realizes that I am one with him in repudiating that bland old party which uses the noblest of our political and moral concepts as tactical weapons for furthering its own ends.

CONCERNING "federal aid as a legal matter," my words were carefully chosen. To say that "views based on constitutional law are usually of secondary value," is not to say they are insignificant—or tertiary. They are simply not primary, even when they are of profound import.

What *is* primary here is the ethos which generated these laws, and in which they find their true meaning. It is this ethos, which in our polity is personalistic and therefore pluralistic, that has been responsible for every beneficial modification in our legal system concerning civil liberties. I referred to an expression of this ethos when mentioning, "the letters patent of our national birthright," and again in the following passage, which was deleted from the published article because of space limitations: ". . . this dualist body politic is what every major document in our social theory has been framed to avoid. Disraeli's 'two nations' and Lincoln's 'half slave and half free' both describe political monstrosities, and contradict that ideal of this society —best outlined in the *Federalist Papers*—which was to prevent the formation of preponderant power groups. This ideal has been preserved in our political parties through the creative tension within them of their conservative and liberal wings; but this ideal is on its way to being dissolved in factious fury with the present controversy over public and private education."

In my article in The Commonweal I tried to move back to the source both because I have not been convinced by the arguments on either side concerning the constitutionality of federal aid to church-affiliated schools, and because I thought the general Catholic viewpoint on that aspect of the question had been well defined by the late Paul Butler, and by Fathers McCluskey and Costanzo, among others. If I overstated my position I hasten to correct the imbalance, because it is precisely this creative interplay between the primary datum (the ethical tenor of a society) and the secondary data (the positive prescriptions) that denominates the field of law as a prudential area, as *jurisprudence*, and that preserves it from degenerating into a sterile positivism. But since the phrase "legalistic literalism" may have a kind of pejorative ring to it, it should have

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been clarified. This clarification in fact was made in the *Oklahoma Courier* article by pointing out that this fidelity to precedents "does provide guarantees of civil liberty otherwise possibly lost."

I confess, however, (while recognizing the inevitable difficulty of the layman in adequately assessing specialized questions) that some of the discussion over the constitutional issue reminds me of the polemic between biblical fundamentalists in the nineteenth century over evolution. The more flexible group "proved" evolution from the Genesis narrative; the other, rigidly denying any evolutionary development, was driven to affirm that fossils were planted by divine action in the lower rock strata to test one's faith. The first group may have been closer to the truth, but neither group was convincing because it could not invoke any higher principle of interpretation.

And I would suggest that it was primarily the higher principle, rather than the legal argumentation of the NAACP attorneys, which brought about the reversal of the "separate but equal" decision. Far from thinking the constitutional argument "pretty much a waste of time," I think it is of great importance. But a constitutional lawyer without a sense of the ethos of our society is somewhat like a theologian without faith: he becomes a manipulator of abstractions, a technician of the text. Fortunately lawyers such as Mr. Ball have a fine awareness of both elements, and his comments, in which I largely concur, exemplify that balanced humanism towards which we all aspire. JUSTUS GEORGE LAWLER

"Bitter Harvest"

New York, N.Y.

TO THE EDITORS: In his review of Louisa Shotwell's excellent book, *The Harvesters* [Jan. 12], Mr. John Stanley is overly cynical about the prospects of improving the conditions of farm labor. It is quite true, of course, that their conditions of life and labor have been miserable for several decades and continue so today. But events in the past few years indicate that substantial improvements will be forthcoming in the near future. Certainly, the outcome depends very heavily on the attitude that the rest of us take.

Among recent encouraging signs was the decision, just voted by the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Convention, to expand and intensify the drive to organize farm workers. The work of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee in California has already produced wage increases of up to 35 cents per hour for thousands of farm workers. For many of them, it was the first increase in years. Perhaps more important is the fact that A.W.O.C. has raised the level of consciousness of farm workers and brought out in them self-confidence and skills that were woefully lacking before.

In addition, the number of organizations and individual citizens concerned with upgrading the conditions of farm labor has swelled in the past few years. Marked changes are also apparent in the attitude of the government. After years of indifferent and ineffectual administration of the Mexican farm labor program, the Department of Labor shows every sign of trying to protect the interests of domestic farm workers.

The Senate actually passed, last year, five bills to help farm workers. These must, of course, pass the House this year to become law. Whether or not these and other bills of immeasurable importance to farm workers pass depends largely on the attitudes of persons like Mr. Stanley who have no direct interest at stake. If most of them are as apathetic as he, Mr. Stanley's unhappy prediction will probably come true. SUE KEISKER,
Research Associate,
Nat'l Advisory Committee on Farm Labor

The Author Replies

New York, N. Y.

TO THE EDITORS: What is one man's cynicism is another's realism. And while it is impossible to assay the interior dispositions—including motivation—of others, it is possible to inspect the record of their past actions. The record of employers down the centuries is breathtaking in its boldness and cruelty; they have chewed men up with the molars of their avarice. Probably something darker than avarice, actually. And, it must be admitted, some have seemed to invite it. (See Tennessee Williams' "Desire and the Black Masseur.")

I'm glad to hear that the AFL-CIO is *going to go* into action. I suppose last year's effort in the lettuce fields was an exploratory probe.

I am also heartened to hear that "the Department of Labor *shows every sign* of *trying* to protect the interests of domestic farm workers." (Italics mine.) What temperate zephyrs and gentle rains will be required to bring these tender buds to bloom! We are dealing with flora of an extraordinary delicacy here.

I think this House will not become notorious for the passing of legislation helpful to those who work for a living—especially those who are, in the practical order, disenfranchised.

"The attitudes of persons. . . . . who have no direct interest. . . ." What does Research Associate Keisker know of my interests? I squirm. "Only in America" is apathy so curiously defined. JOHN STANLEY

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THE STAGE

Sows' Ears out of Silk Purses

IT MIGHT seem at first that the entrepreneurs of "A Passage to India" and "The Aspern Papers" have undertaken an act of cultural heroism, the drawing power on Broadway of E. M. Forster and Henry James being what it is. But you always have to look twice in these days of advancing cultural breakdown, one of whose symptoms is that collapse of the capacity to make distinctions which leads to Herman Wouk, Arnold Bennett and Dostoevsky all being novelists together, Sophocles, Pinero and Dore Schary all being playwrights; and which further results in the existence of a great grab-bag of art and entertainment wherein classics and best-sellers, plays, novels, travelogues, circuses, epic poems, opera and concentration-camp memoirs mingle indiscriminately, change skins and merge with each other, the whole bag being tied together with the legend "Everything here has worked!"

With the loss of originality comes the itch to make what has worked in one form work in another. And indeed it is possible to make good plays, let us say, from great novels, though it is easier to make them from bad ones. But it won't work if you proceed on the assumption that a property is a property, a success a success; if, in other words, you hope to effect a translation merely, something good in French promising felicity in English, a novel's wealth of dialogue and confrontation auguring its successful reconstitution as a drama.

Naturally, it is not so simple; you will have to telescope, rearrange, perhaps fill in spaces. But where the aim remains to *reproduce* a work of fiction on the stage, which inevitably means to reproduce its story, the thing that presumably made it successful in the first place ("from the pen of the master story-teller"), the ironical result is that you will produce either a travesty or a shadow. For it is not the plots of great novels that can be learned from or transposed to a new medium, but their language, their vision, their inner relationships and pressures.

The question is therefore not at all one of fidelity to the original, except in the sense that you have to be faithful to something in it—its sensibility, the imaginative area it stakes out, perhaps only the thematic clue it offers. An adaptation clearly deserves to be judged in its own right, though for the initiated the prototype will inescapably be present in the mind. No, the matter is one of fidelity to the art of drama, which means almost inescapably infidelity to the art of fiction. Are "A Passage to India" and "The Aspern Papers" good plays, whatever their relations to the originals? Would someone familiar with the novels find in them some new quality to justify their transmogrification, and would a newcomer respond to them as authentic works without reference to anything else?

In fact the two plays are bad, although not equally so; one is a travesty of its original, the other a shadow. And in both cases the trouble arises precisely from an attempt to stay as close as possible to the story of the novel, its plot, thereby missing its spirit, the only thing really exportable. What speeds the destruction is, ironically, the very recognition that a play has different procedures and strategies from a novel; since both Mr. Redgrave and Miss Rama Rau are interested in art *and* success they do employ dramatic techniques—the tested, superficial ones of Broadway.

Miss Rama Rau is far guiltier than Mr. Redgrave, on every count. "A Passage to India" is actually so inept a play that only the tinniest of ears could find pleasure in it, and of course the tin ears have been reverberating all over town. It is really three plays, horribly jarring in tone and intention—one which attempts to weave a texture of cultural differences (the "East-West" misunderstanding of the novel), another which aims for broad effects of suspense and violence, and a third whose wish is to evoke mystery of a metaphysical kind.

In the novel these are the three main elements. But on the stage nothing works since nothing is integrated. The jarring is incessant; one feels a desperate effort to make the complexity and subtle values of the novel come across without departing from the principles of the well-made play. To do this, a story is told, the tale of Miss Quested's false accusation of Dr. Aziz, which provides for the central actions, including the climactic and vulgarly handled trial-scene; and around the story cluster unassimilated fragments of meaning: the ruminations of Mrs. Moore, to whom Forster had entrusted an integumentary role; the relationship between Aziz and Fielding; the neuroticism of Miss Quested. And the story itself amounts in the end to little more than an anecdote of humanist and liberal sentiment—the "timely theme" to which there has been such a predictable response.

Mr. Redgrave's "Aspern Papers," on the other hand, is not unendurable; it simply hasn't much weight or resonance. It is the ghost of James's novel, faithful in outline and lineaments, but lacking the book's thematic fullness, its rich investigation of the relationship between art and life and between innocence and passion. Because it lacks this and has no new properly dramatic reality to offer, it has to depend heavily on the detective-story atmosphere which in James served as lure towards a more complex trap. And Mr. Redgrave, for greater insurance, cannot resist having his characters utter such imaginatively reductive and Madison Avenue-inspired lines as "this discovery will rock the whole world of literature."

But Mr. Redgrave does have something Miss Rama Rau might envy. He has Wendy Hiller. It is true that "A Passage to India" is blessed with Gladys Cooper,

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who gives to the role of Mrs. Moore all the exactness and finely arrived at ambiguity of which she is capable, and it also has Eric Portman and Zia Mohyeddan, a young Pakistani actor who does as well as he can with Aziz. But "The Aspern Papers" can counter with Maurice Evans, whose professional *éclat* of speech matches Portman's professional briskness of manner (both being a trifle dead at the center), and with Françoise Rosay, whose foreignness is as exotic as Mr. Mohyeddan's.

But who can counter Miss Hiller? Not Miss Cooper, because "Passage" doesn't give her much to do and keeps her isolated in any case. The role of Miss Tina in "The Aspern Papers," is, however, a central one, and Miss Hiller achieves with it a performance that almost makes the play come off. That is a miracle we frequently see, the hermetic marvels of a job of acting in a play we might otherwise scorn. An unparalleled delicacy, a grace, a lightness, a spirit coupled with an intelligence, for lack of a better word, a radiance—such are Miss Hiller's possessions, and she puts them all in the service of this ghost. She nearly brings it to corporeality.

RICHARD GILMAN

THE SCREEN

"Grave Alice and Laughing Allegra"

LAST WEEK it was "Victim," an English film deploring the plight of homosexuals exploited by blackmailers in London. Under consideration this week are a couple of movies in which lesbians are among the major characters. It almost makes a reviewer long for the relatively tame good-old-days when pictures like "The Price She Paid," "A Fool There Was," and various items about wayward spouses were shocking patrons of the flickers.

Not that the two new films with lesbians are exactly modern. "The Children's Hour" (United Artists) is a remake of Lillian Hellman's 1934 play which appeared as a movie in 1936 under the title of "These Three." Perhaps the whole thing should have been left back in the 1930s. Lillian Hellman's original plot (showing how a little girl's vicious lie, accusing two women of an unnatural relationship, resulted in the wrecking of their school and the suicide of one of the women) is somewhat dated now. And the whole story, though still quite stirring, seems rather contrived. Would two supposedly intelligent school teachers, who probably had Psych I and II and several education courses in college, be so naive about their situation and so thrown by adversity? Would the doctor-fiancé of one of the women believe the lie and walk out on her? Would the other teacher, suddenly realizing her love for this woman, believe that this is the end of the world for her?

When producer Samuel Goldwyn made "These Three" from this play in 1936, the Hays Office wouldn't let him touch the lesbian theme. So Lillian Hellman wrote an impressive script changing her play considerably but still emphasizing the power of a lie to hurt three people; and William Wyler directed a fine cast in the well-made movie. No doubt Mr. Wyler wanted now to show what he could do with Miss Hellman's original theme, so he has remade "The Children's Hour" complete with the lesbian situation as written in John Michael Hayes's script.

This 1962 version is more an exercise in how to handle a delicate subject than a convincing picture of what could happen when a little girl's lie drives a woman to know the truth about herself. Shirley MacLaine gives a magnificent performance as the teacher who discovers her aberration; but as well portrayed as the role is, I still didn't believe the whole situation. This is due partly to the stacked-card story and partly to producer-director Wyler's allowing Audrey Hepburn and James Garner to walk through their roles as the other teacher and her doctor-fiancé, while Karen Balkin, as the mean, prevaricating child, and Miriam Hopkins, as Shirley's stage-struck aunt, overact shamefully. Fay Bainter, as the child's grandmother who believes the lie, kicks up a fuss, and later tries to make amends, turns in a first-rate professional job that almost steals the show from Miss MacLaine. But not quite: Shirley is so moving in the carefully-handled scene in which she reveals the truth to Audrey that one is nearly moved to tears for the ill-fated teacher; and one would like nothing better than to pack her off at once to a good psychiatrist.

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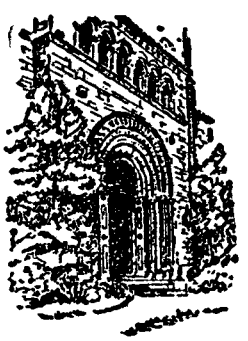

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AMONG THE many publicity releases sent out by Columbia Pictures on its new film, "Walk on the Wild Side," is one stating that the Governor of Louisiana was invited to the premiere to be held in New Orleans during the Mardi Gras celebrations. The Governor may (or may not) be surprised to learn how seamy New Orlean's French Quarter was some thirty years ago. Nelson Algren's novel was considered a little too frank even for today's Production Code, so a slew of script-writers worked on it, toned down the story some, and came up with a period piece that is not only depressing but also almost pointless.

The plot concerns a Texas farm boy (Laurence Harvey) who hitch-hikes to New Orleans to look for the girl he loves (Capucine). On the way he teams up with a wild kid (Jane Fonda) who teaches the naive lad a thing or two about traveling for free by boxcar and truck—and even how to scrounge a meal on the edge of New Orleans in a diner owned by Anne Baxter. The boy wisely shakes Jane and works for Anne, who takes more than a proprietary interest in him but understandingly helps in his search for the beautiful Capucine. Harvey finally finds his girl in the French Quarter's Doll House, an elaborate brothel run by Barbara Stanwyck whose only interest in men is as customers, and the apple of whose eye is the lovely Capucine, the leading attraction at the place. The rest of this sordid story is concerned with Harvey's rescue of Capucine from her evil surroundings—a rescue made doubly difficult by the lesbian madame and her money-minded, strong-armed men-of-all-work. Helping Harvey, however, are the solicitous Miss Baxter (in the only really decent female role in the film) and flashy Jane Fonda (who is now one of the girls in the Doll House).

At least Columbia is billing "Walk on the Wild Side" as an adult movie, but I'm not sure which adults it has in mind. Charles K. Feldman gave his picture a good production with a hard-working cast and realistic location shots taken in New Orleans; and director Edward Dmytryk did the best he could with the tarnished characters and unpleasant story. The redemption motif, no doubt, merits approval; but all the candid details along the way may send audiences out of the theater long before the finale. If they don't, the film's theme song, "Walk on the Wild Side," should. Grubby is the word for this melodrama. PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

New Puzzles about Old Theological Problems

Religious Experience and Truth. Edited by Sidney Hook. New York University Press. $5.
Reason and God. By John E. Smith. Yale University Press. $5.
Religion and the Knowledge of God. By Gustave Weigel, S.J. and Arthur G. Madden. Prentice-Hall. $3.95.

by Daniel Callahan

IT WAS once remarked, after an ecumenical meeting, that the bearing of each of the three participants had reflected the spirit of his position. The Congregationalist was genial and self-effacing, the Anglican urbane and witty, the Jesuit orderly and self-confident.

A similar comment can be made about the books reviewed here. Professor Hook's symposium, especially in its non-religious contributors, is sharp, skeptical, querulous and at times acid. Professor Smith's collection of occasional essays, as befits a Protestant professor of philosophy, is careful and balanced, flexible and undogmatic. Father Weigel's book, written with the assistance of Arthur G. Madden, is direct, efficient and free of loose ends and unravelled problems.

Fortunately, manner does not make the man. In the instance of Professor Hook's symposiasts, the frequently sharp, cutting edge of their language makes for a lively, useful discussion of some central religious arguments and concepts. Most of the contributors to the three sections of the book—religious symbols, religious faith and meaning and truth in theology—have at least something pertinent to say.

With minor variations, each of the sections begins with the presentation of a thesis. Paul Tillich's essay on "The Meaning and Justification of Religious Symbols" opens the first. H. Richard Niebuhr leads off the second with a paper "On the Nature of Faith." And Paul Ziff, with a title characteristic of one under the spell of that latter-day Cambridge deity, Ludwig Wittgenstein, writes "About 'God'" to launch the third. Comments and discussion follow.

While one can hardly begin to summarize the various currents and counter-currents running through each of the sections, two or three of the essays are memorable. Sidney Hook and Kai Nielsen's essays on Dr. Tillich, for instance, are incisive and devastating. More than one reader is likely to agree with Prof. Nielsen's judgment that the Tillichian understanding of man and God is not going to be very convincing until it "gets washed in the detergent of plain statement . . ."

The norm of the "plain statement," one might add, is a common one in this book. It is by no means an unprofitable norm, especially when joined with an interest in the logic and concepts of religion. Father J. M. Bochenski's essay in particular shows how profitable such an interest can be for the Catholic philosopher.

With Professor Smith's book one leaves the battlefield and returns to the book-lined study. Not that all is peaceful here. But it is surely quieter, more measured in style and far less irascible in coming to grips with the philosophical problems of religion. What to my mind is notable about the book is the wide range of

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Dr. Smith's interests; Rousseau, Nietzsche, C. S. Peirce's philosophy of religion, morality, and poetry all receive careful attention. The essay on Peirce is especially good and helps fill a gap in the voluminous work that has been done on that great philosopher.

Of greater interest still, perhaps, is the way Dr. Smith deals with certain systematic and enduring problems of philosophical theology. Particularly pertinent is his treatment of experience and religion. Many philosophers—for it is easier said than done—have attempted to show the limitations of empiricism and its systematic narrowing of experience. Professor Smith makes still another attempt. With a fair measure of success, he points out some possible new ways of making "the experience of God" a viable and philosophically sound notion. Similarly, his urging, in an essay on natural theology, that more attention be given to the possibility of synthesizing an approach to God "through the self and through the cosmos" is of considerable interest.

In Father Weigel's and Dr. Madden's book, one meets many of the same problems that engaged Dr. Smith's attention. But here again the atmosphere changes: there are many battles but they all take place in an even more book-lined study. Some indeed might care to say, judging from superficial evidence, that the wall is lined less with books than with Truth; and that the outcome of the battle can be known in advance. There would be something to that charge—given the vast array of religious quandaries methodically dispatched—were it not for a number of saving virtues.

For one thing, the problems chosen are ones that receive only the scantiest attention from American Catholic philosophers. Mention need only be made of such topics as the phenomenology of religion and the philosophical problems of mysticism and religious experience to make this clear. For another, despite a lack of the kind of dogged concept-baiting that marks the Hook volume, the book has enough fresh minor points to add up to a valuable whole. These points more than offset (even

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if they don't erase) such familiar features as a three-page treatment of "Positivism and Existentialism."

Should one care to read these three books together, he might be advised to begin with Father Weigel and Dr. Madden's work. Things will be fairly clear at that point. Next, he might read Dr. Smith's: there are some obvious clouds on the horizon. Finally, well-armed with a psychic mixture of certainty and uncertainty, he can try the Hook collection. In the end he will no doubt decide that everyone is wrong but that everyone has a point; that religion is a problem and a mystery. He will be quite correct.

Greene's Search

In Search of a Character. By Graham Greene. The Viking Press. $3.50.

by Thomas P. McDonnell

GRAHAM GREENE has reversed the chronology of his two African journals in order to give, one supposes, an already physically slight book the immediate advantage of its *raison d'être*. For it is the "Congo Journal," rather than "Convoy to West Africa," that will chiefly concern both the general reader and the student of contemporary fiction.

". . . All I know about the story I am planning is that a man 'turns up,' and for that reason alone I find myself on a plane between Brussels and Leopoldville." So begins, in this truly fascinating journal of the creative writer involved in the intuitions of life and art, the search for the man called X, who of course turns up as Querry in *A Burnt-Out Case*. Not only do the entries and footnotes throw considerable light on that novel, but it seems unlikely that any future study of Greene will be possible without some reference to them.

Yet in reading this book a serious question arises. To what extent can an already questionable art-form, the novel, continue to depend upon the psychological (if not narcissistic) gropings of authors? Heaven knows this is not in any way to hold in disdain the very real struggle of the artist—or what literary mechanics call the creative process. It is simply to ask, where are the writers who once wrote larger than life, whose books were not controversial alter egos but attempts at a vision of reality that is enduring and whole? Greene himself, upon re-reading *David Copperfield*, says that "the first two chapters are supreme in the novel: untouched even by Proust or Tolstoy. One dreads the moment when Dickens will fail as he always fails—with exaggeration, whimsicality, sentimentality." But these were the failures of excess in a nonetheless genuine response to life, and they cannot be considered greater structural deficiencies than, say, the restrictive inversions of much contemporary fiction.

Still, the "Congo Journal" is not all that intense and preoccupied. Oddly, in fact, there are entries as charmingly bucolic as any in a vicar's diary—Kilvert in the bush, so to speak. But mostly, of course, it is uniquely the tone and temper of its author. Special item though it may be, it would compound error to limit this book to any so-called cult of

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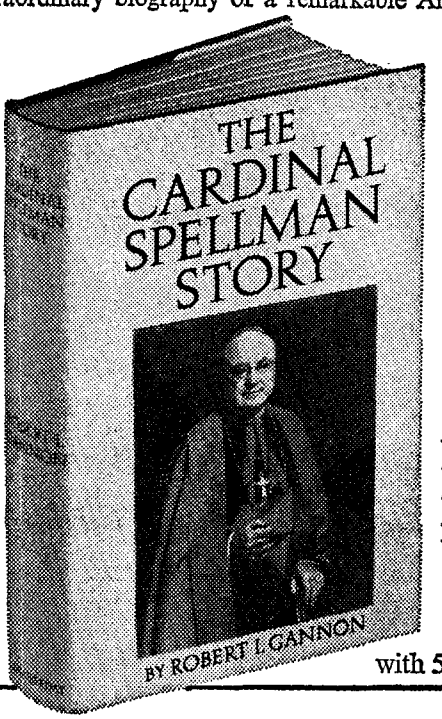

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Sleeping Giant?

China and Her Shadow. By Tibor Mende. Coward-McCann. $5.

by Harold C. Hinton

THIS BOOK, which represents an effort to contribute to a greater public understanding of Communist China, is the work of a distinguished French journalist and political scientist and has already been published in French, British, and other foreign editions. It is based on a considerable knowledge of Asia, a trip to China in 1959, and documentary research that apparently extended to the eve of the book's original publication at the end of 1960.

Mr. Mende's main theme is Communist China's growth as an industrial power, which he considers massive, rapid, and irreversible. Unfortunately he helps himself to this conclusion by accepting official Chinese Communist statistics, which, with a few reservations, have been notoriously unreliable since 1958. Chinese agriculture is seen as having been transformed, by vast applications of human labor, into a going concern relatively immune to fluctuations in weather. All this is conceded to have been accomplished under a great deal of compulsion; but Mr. Mende seems unwilling to admit that the totalitarian features of the regime cast doubt on either the rightfulness or the ultimate success of its performance.

From the purely economic standpoint, most observers would have agreed with Mr. Mende down to the time his judgment was formed, which was apparently about the end of 1959. It was only in 1960 that the second of three successive poor harvests began to raise serious doubts in Peking and abroad. Although precipitated by bad weather and caused in an immediate sense by the destruction of peasant incentives by the commune system (of which Mr. Mende has much too favorable an opinion), the agricultural crisis that has dominated the Chinese scene since 1960 is also a current manifestation of China's colossal demographic problem. This crisis renders more improbable than ever the fulfilment of Mr. Mende's prediction that Communist China will emerge as the third, and perhaps the greatest, of the superpowers.

The book is perhaps less sound, and much less interesting, on Communist China's foreign policy and foreign relations than on its domestic progress. Mr. Mende tends to overestimate Peking's sophistication and success, since 1958 at any rate, in handling its Asian neighbors. He correctly sees the tough Chinese foreign policy line that began in 1958 as the external manifestation of the same mentality that produced the "Great Leap Forward" at home. He seems to see the Sino-Soviet differences of 1958-59 as little more than a disagreement over Soviet aid to China and over the best way to deal with non-Communist Asia, whereas in fact the differences were and remain

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much more deep-seated than that. In fairness, however, it should be noted that, as in the case of agriculture, the full dimensions of the problem have become apparent only very recently.

The reader should be apprised that, in addition to the major misinterpretations already mentioned, the book contains many lesser errors and debatable statements. The publishers are proud of the fact that it was banned in Moscow, but this was almost certainly because it was too pro-Chinese, not because it was too anti-Communist. Mr. Mende would have done well to rid himself of some doctrinaire misconceptions common to many European intellectuals, for instance the notion that the United States is almost entirely uninformed on Communist China and that American China policy has been "negative" and "sterile." A final negative criticism, although not of Mr. Mende, is that the translation is rather awkward and was evidently made by someone whose native language, whatever it may be, is not English.

This reviewer is aware that he has expressed a less than enthusiastic opinion of Mr. Mende's book, and this is because it makes an impression powerful enough to mislead a reader without sufficient knowledge of the subject to see its defects for himself. With these caveats in mind, however, it is a book worth reading.

It must be said that Mr. Mende has been more honest in describing what he saw of Communist China's defects than the writers of many far more euphoric travelogues who have probably been trying to insure another invitation to visit "People's" China. He succeeds in making most of his book interesting, which is more than can be said for a great many other such accounts. And he calls attention in an arresting way to one of the major problems confronting our age, the ambitions of Communist China's rulers, even if he exaggerates the extent to which they have succeeded so far in translating those ambitions into reality.

In conclusion, *China and Her Shadow* is fairly typical of many ambitious efforts that have failed on balance to convey a message that is valid. It has failed partly because it is neither thoroughly journalistic nor thoroughly scholarly; partly because Mr. Mende like so many intellectuals is overly impressed with power, which he tends to equate with a mere display of energy; but mainly because he has not made a rigorous enough effort to understand either the things he likes or the things he dislikes. It is not a balanced portrait of Communist China, nor does it contain, as we may feel we have a right to expect from a book of this kind, a proposal for dealing with it.

REVIEWERS

Daniel Callahan, an associate editor of The Commonweal, is one of the editors of *Christianity Divided*, a collection of articles by Protestant and Catholic scholars.

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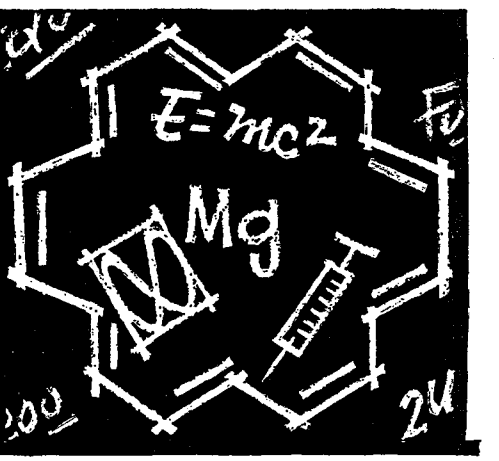

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